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241 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of
178 literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The
212 low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are
407 probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural
[242] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural
[354] experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill
[493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward
461 work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

B [133] [162]

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [133] [491]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts—the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

BB [505] [493]

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

BB [491]

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu—down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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234 443 [493] [272] The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 443 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters [272] [234] [443] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
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505 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

491 One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
[492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

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439
497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used.

(494) It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

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249 497 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum, and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 491 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No 491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry 491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably 484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

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for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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494 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the
493 region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

494 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the
651 Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported
438 on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

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494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
• 493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast--they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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546 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
• [493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved
[484] a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

3: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá
Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]
Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation. Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor, [493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 43 178 [426] Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. [492] Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of *249 178 maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede *249 178 4606 the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

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463 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any oth-
466 er worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops,
and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and
[492] horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the cor-
poration, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is
[465] high: Cr$2,000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for
each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional
overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a
*249 cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu
463 Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twen-
159 ty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good
deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned
than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his
[427] sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on
one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, rent-
ing some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants
sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory
for the use of the land.

*249 The usineiros have the same complaints against their gen-
466 eral overseers that private plantation owners have against
theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such
an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is
allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted,
ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mut-
ters to himself.

*249 So far the rural properties of the factories have led the pri-
[184] vate plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have
greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use
out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet
only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed
and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane
shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--
grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no
soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and
all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting
[496] of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks
[493] reach out from the mill to loading points on the six planta-
tions, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the
[311] railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two
thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is
used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accord-
ance with a rotation system.

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

2: Hutchinson · E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

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change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* [466] 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 [443] [452] [407]

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis.

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The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent.

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

3i Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

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Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum.

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A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites.

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Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks.

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At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.
A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]
The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.
Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."